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Pennsylvania and the West are almost unanimous for *ur*.

or and ɔ before consonant: distinctions.

Of the persons who answered my circular 73% make a distinction between 'borne' and 'born,' 77% between 'coarse' and 'corse,' 81% between 'hoarse' and 'horse,' and 81% between 'mourn' and 'morn,' the first word of every pair being pronounced with *δ* or *ɔ*. About half of those who make no distinction are from the neighborhood of New York City or Boston, and more than half always pronounce *ɔ* before *r* (unless a vowel follows).

Out of some 160 persons only five distinguish between 'course' and 'coarse,' 10 between the second syllable of 'afford' and 'ford,' four between 'forth' and 'fourth,' 29 between 'hoard' and 'horde.'

û, u, ô, ò, or ɔ before final r.

'Poor' is, perhaps the best example to use as a type of words ending in *ur*. The general percentages are: *û*, 61%; *u*, 30%; *ô*, *ò*, *ɔ*, 9%; where *r=r*: *û*, 76%; *u*, 23%; *ɔ*, 1%; where *r=ɔ*: *û*, 54%; *u*, 30%; *ô* or *ò*, 16%. In the South, where the popular form of all these words seems to be *pɔɔ* (or *pô*), etc., we find: *û*, 48%; *ô*, 48%; *ɔ*, 4%.

For 'sure' the returns are: *û*, 54%; *u*, 39%; *ô*, *ò*, *ɔ*, 7%; in the South: *û* or *u*, 59%; *ô* or *ɔ* 41%.

For 'your' the results are somewhat different: correspondents from the West all give *û* or *u*; from the Middle States all but three give *û* or *u*; from Connecticut all give *û* or *u*; but from the rest of New England 67% are for *û* or *u*, 33% for *ô* or *ɔ*; and from the South, 8% for *û*, 84% for *ô*, 8% for *ɔ*. The general percentages are: *û*, 40%; *u*, 30%; *ô* or *ò*, 20%; *ɔ*, 10%. The *ɔ* seems to be particularly common in the vicinity of Boston.

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**SOME PECULIARITIES OF GENDER
IN THE MODERN PICARD
DIALECT.**

CHANGES in gender in the Romance languages have been produced chiefly by two causes: the influence of words having a like sound

or of words of which the termination has a like sound, and the influence of words having a meaning such that they call into the mind at the same time other words through the principle of association of ideas. Briefly stated, the two influences are those of sound-analogy and association of ideas. These two principles explain most of the gender changes in Picard. *Malice* in French became masculine through the phonetic influence of *vice* and other masculine words ending in *-ice*; *étude* in French became feminine through the influence of other feminines ending in *-ude*. Through the influence of the association of ideas *mer* became feminine by affiliation with *terre*; under the same influence *minuit* became masculine, through association with *midi*.

The words in the list I give, may be divided into two classes: (1) dialect words corresponding to French words which also at some period changed their gender, and (2) words which have changed in Picard but not in French.

The following words are feminine in Picard: *ɛspaʃ*—SPATIUM. Examples are given by LITTRÉ¹ of its use in the feminine in the French of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. DARMESTETER and HATZFELD² also give examples from MAROT and CALVIN of its use in the feminine. The change in gender is due to the influence of words of like termination, such as *plas*, *faʃ*, *grimaʃ*, etc.

ɛgzɛp—EXEMPLUM. An example of this word used in the feminine is cited by LITTRÉ from the eleventh century. D. & H. give an example of its use in the feminine by MONTAIGNE, and also cite VAUGELAS as authority for the statement that it was generally of that gender in Paris in his time.

ɛvɑ̃zil—EVANGELIUM. This is found also by LITTRÉ used in the feminine in the thirteenth century, and by D. & H. in the sixteenth. The change in gender is due either to the influence of words of like ending, such as *pile*, *ville*, *pupille*, etc., or to association with *Bible*.

¹ When LITTRÉ is mentioned in this article his 'Dictionnaire de la langue française,' s.v., is referred to.

² When D. & H. are referred to, it is their work on 'Le seizième siècle en France,' pp. 246-250, that is cited.

gnær—HONOREM. In French this word was always feminine till the sixteenth century, i. e., till the time of the movement of the grammarians to change all words from Latin nouns ending in -OREM back to their original Latin gender. The dialect has remained true to the usage of the early French.

ofis^v—OFFICIUM. An example of its use in the feminine is given by LITTRÉ from the fifteenth century, and one by D. and H. from the sixteenth. In French it is also used in the feminine with the meaning *pantry*. In Picard, however, it is feminine in all significations. The change in gender is due to the influence of the large class of words derived from Latin abstract nouns in -itia.

šimtjer—CŒMETERIUM. It was also used in French in the feminine in the fifteenth century, and, in the sixteenth century, it was used in both the masculine and feminine.³ At that time the form *cimterre* is found, and there can be little doubt that the change in gender is due to popular etymology. The popular mind associated it with *terre*. The change in gender probably arose first in the Eastern dialects, where TERRAM became *terre*, and where also the termination -ERIUM of CŒMETERIUM gave -iere. The form *terre* had penetrated into Picard, and is found in the 'Dit dou vrai Aniel' (40).

setim—CENTESIMUM. LITTRÉ remarks that it is a common fault to use this word in the feminine in French. The change in gender is due to analogy with words ending in -ime; e.g., *lime*, *cime*, most of which are feminine.

kler^v*žé*—CLERICATUM. This word has followed the analogy of nouns formed from Latin abstract nouns with the ending -TATEM.⁴

er—AËR. The change in gender in the dialect is due to the influence of words derived from Latin forms in -ARIA.

uvra^v—OPERATICUM. LITTRÉ cites an example of its use in the feminine from the fifteenth century, and D. & H. give one from the sixteenth. The change in gender is probably due to association with *œuvre* (or perhaps with *rage*).

³ D. & H., p. 246.

⁴ SUCHIER in GRÜBER's 'Grundriss,' vol. i, p. 647.

ordjel—O.H.G. URGUOL. There is no mouilliation of the / in this word in the modern Picard, and it has become feminine after the analogy of feminine nouns from Latin forms in -ALEM.

ram—RHEUMAM. An example of its use in the feminine is cited by LITTRÉ from the sixteenth century. It has followed the analogy of words in Latin having the termination -UMAM.

apôtem—APOSTEMA. This has followed the analogy of feminine words ending in -eme, such as *crème*.

supirel—SUSPIRACULUM. There is no mouilliation of the / in this word in modern Picard. The change in gender is due to the same cause which produced it in *ordjel*.

org—ORGANUM. This word is feminine in both singular and plural in Picard. In French the word has fluctuated between the masculine and feminine at different periods. Formerly the Academy considered it feminine in both numbers, but the last edition of its dictionary gives it as masc. in the singular and fem. in the plural. The patois avoids this clumsy usage.

artik—ARTICULUM. I find no example of this in any text in the feminine. Final / after a consonant is dropped in Picard. After the fall of the / the gender changed after the analogy of words from Latin forms in -ICAM, such as *brique*, *boutique*, etc.

œl—OCULUM. This is feminine in the singular in Picard, and masculine in the plural—when it is pronounced *iæ*. The change in gender in the singular is due to the influence of words whose ending represents the Latin termination -OLAM.

The following words are masculine in Picard:—

om—UMBRAM. In the Middle Ages it was used in both genders in French, but in the sixteenth century it was always feminine. (cf. LITTRÉ. s.v. *ombre*).

Kravat. This word is of historical origin. In French the word was originally applied to a Croat horse, and then to a cavalry soldier; afterwards, with a change of gender from the masculine to the feminine, it was

applied to a neck-tie of a particular kind worn by the Croats. The word has kept in Picard the same gender which it had in French before its latest change in meaning. JOUANCOUX⁵ finds the word used in the masculine in an inventory made at Amiens in 1670.

gartjer—Celtic *GÂR*. The word is also found in the masculine in FROISSART,⁶ and JOUANCOUX also cites an example from the 'Evangiles des Quenouilles.'

dẽ—DENTEM. Many examples of its use in the masculine are cited by LITTRÉ from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. It is also used in the masculine in 'Aucassin et Nicolette' (xii, 22) and in the 'Roman de Carité' (iii, 8).

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SPANISH AMERICAN WORDS.

AN exhaustive and accurate study of the Spanish elements which have in this country entered our language, would be an appropriate task for some member of the American Dialect Society. This article may suggest something of the interest of the subject.

In the region of the Southwest, where the English civilization has not overpowered and nearly obliterated the Spanish civilization, the use of the Spanish language has had a decided influence on the English tongue and has added not a few words to our common speech. Here two dialects of the Spanish language have been spoken, and consequently the influence on our own language has arisen from two sources. The first source is the old Castilian language, still used by the few remaining aristocratic families of pure (?) blood. I say *old* Castilian, for several centuries of use in the provinces have changed it but little from the form in which it was introduced into the colonies from the continental Spanish. Even now it differs but little from modern continental Spanish, for the Spanish language, as compared with other modern languages, changes but little from century to century.

⁵ 'Glossaire du Patois picard,' s. v.

⁶ Cited by LITTRÉ, s. v.

Indeed we are told that the language spoken by the people in the rural districts of Old Spain is retained through its constant use in the commercial contact of these people with the better classes of the towns. However, it seems that the literary language of Old Spain has changed far more than the language of the provinces, and in an entirely different way. But this only illustrates a well-known law, that old forms of speech are retained in the colonies and remote parts of a nation, while more rapid changes are to be noted in the intelligent and progressive centres.

Thus, we find in the provinces that the *ll*-sound loses its force and is used as a long *i*-sound, or more properly as a long *i*-sound with a slight breaking. Also, that the *ñ*-sound so prominent in continental speech, is in the provinces suppressed to a smothered *n*-sound. Likewise the *b* is used interchangeably with *v*, with a tendency to substitute the *v* for the *b*. (It has been maintained that these changes are noticeable in a comparison of the language of the rural districts of Spain with those of the centres of intelligence.) The old Castilian families using this speech are rapidly disappearing from the country: their great estates have passed into the hands of others and their prominent position in society is gone.

It is chiefly through the second source, the Mexican dialect, that words have found their way into the common speech of our country. It is through the language of the common people, through the Spanish language clipped and degraded by the commingling of unlettered Spaniards with an inferior race, that words find their way into English. It was the policy of Spain to amalgamate conqueror and conquered into one homogeneous nationality, and the results of this attempt are plainly visible in the nature of the language produced. The Mexican dialect is quite extensively used in New Mexico and California by the great majority of the people of Spanish blood and their native converts to Christianity. This language is also quite commonly used as a matter of convenience by those associated in business with the Mexican race. But what concerns us most in the consideration of this topic is the fact that this dialect is furnishing the English language with words, some of